


## ANÁLISIS DEL INVOLUCRAMIENTO Y LA RECONFIGURACIÓN EN YOUTUBE MÉXICO A PARTIR DEL CASO #LADY100PESOS

### *Involvement and reconfiguration analysis on YouTube Mexico from case #lady100pesos*

Dra. Brenda Azucena Muñoz Yáñez

Profesor Investigador. Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila, México

E-mail: [brenda.munoz@uadec.edu.mx](mailto:brenda.munoz@uadec.edu.mx)

 [orcid.org/0000-0003-0962-9270](https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0962-9270)

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#### RESUMEN

En este artículo se analiza y discute el grado de aceptación e involucramiento que los videos de producción profesional y amateur suscitan en una plataforma como YouTube. Se toma como punto de partida el entramado semántico (Muñoz, 2014), como objeto de estudio, para explicar la manera en que los significados hegemónicos y alternativos inscritos en estos tipos de contenido se entrelazan en el acto de observar y consumir videos en dicha plataforma. Para enriquecer la discusión, se presentan resultados de investigación de un estudio de caso en YouTube México que recuperó información estadística de la interfaz del sitio para someterla a análisis de contenido. Con el registro de 364 videos principales, 3644 videos sugeridos y 161 comentarios populares, asociados el término de búsqueda #lady100pesos, se puede observar cómo la producción de video amateur en México podría suscitar la reconfiguración de significados asociados a temas como la corrupción y la sexualización del cuerpo femenino. Se concluye que YouTube puede otorgar a sus diferentes tipos de usuarios la posibilidad de integrarse a la discusión de textos mediáticos utilizando el mismo código audiovisual que los productores profesionales de medios lo que implicaría un cambio en la manera en que los productores amateur comprenden su lugar y participación en el debate público.

**Palabras clave:** YouTube, medios emergentes, reconfiguración, videos amateur, entramado semántico, comunicación y género

#### ABSTRACT

In this article, I analyze and discuss the acceptance and involvement degree that professional and amateur videos bring forward on YouTube. I take as a starting point the concept of semantic weaveworks (Muñoz, 2014), as an object of study, to explain the ways in which hegemonic and alternative meanings located in these kinds of content intertwine at the act of watching and consuming videos on said platform. To nurture discussion, I present research results of a case study on YouTube Mexico that retrieved YouTube's interface statistical information to apply a content analysis research tool. With the study of 364 main videos, 3644 suggested videos and the most 161 popular comments associated with the search term #lady100pesos, I observe that amateur video production in Mexico could raise meaning reconfiguration on themes like corruption and the female body sexualization. I conclude that YouTube could give its different types of users the possibility to integrate themselves into the discussion of media texts using the same audiovisual code as professional media producers. This may imply a change in the way amateur producers understand their place and participation in the public debate.

**Key words:** YouTube, emergent media, reconfiguration, amateur videos, semantic weaveworks, communication and gender.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

*YouTube is a place for people to engage in new ways with video by sharing, commenting on, and viewing videos.*  
(YouTube, 15 May 2006)

Over ten years have elapsed since Chad Hurley, Steven Chen and Jawed Karim published the words at the beginning of this article to try to describe what YouTube is. They are shown here again because they express the original purpose of its founders, but also because the site has occupied a position in the cybernetic sphere as the world's most popular online video-sharing website (Alexa Internet, 2017). Therefore, it is appropriate to pose the question of whether that objective has been fulfilled. Over the next pages, a case which was particularly popular in Mexico will be analyzed: #lady100pesos, in which the video of a young inebriated woman trying to bribe a police officer after causing a car accident became viral and led to an intense amateur audiovisual production of videos. From this case, this text will examine the degree of involvement and acceptance brought forward by professionally and non-professionally produced videos in YouTube in order to explain what characteristics in the contents published on the site lead audiences to become involved with the new video formats posted on YouTube.

The starting point of this discussion is the coexistence of professionally-produced cultural products and non-professionally produced cultural objects within the abovementioned platform. In theory, the nature of this site ensures a diversity of contents that, in the words of Lozano (2006), helps to meet the needs for information, education and entertainment of different audiences. If we also consider that Jenkins, Purushotma, Clinton, Weigel & Robinson (2006) suggest that these type of platforms promote a culture of participation in which the more experienced users share their knowledge with other members so that they can take part in the debate of the public cultural sphere of each website, we may notice the relevance of studying the involvement of audiences in the construction of meanings within these emerging media.

However, some points need to be clarified in this scenario in which audiences get involved with the contents in YouTube. First of all, previous studies (Muñoz, 2012; Burgess & Green, 2009; Lange, 2007) have found that inside the YouTube community there is a complex hierarchy of users based on their degree of professionalization and popularity; and that apart from the social retribution that the users of the site receive, their participation can also be rewarded economically, which would transform at least part of the most prominent users into semi-professional producers. That is, examining the ways in which professional and non-professional videos are integrated in the YouTube interface might also show whether the characteristics of this platform are in favor of or against communities based on a participation culture because, in spite of the diversity of contents that can be found on this site, we cannot ignore the interference that media corporations can cause within the community, nor rule out the possibility that the most relevant users, in an attempt to protect their income, engage in practices that restrict the participation of all users rather than promote them.

The next section explains the theoretical and methodological proposal used to analyze YouTube and to deal with the difficulties that have been mentioned. Afterwards, I present the results of the research on a case study in YouTube Mexico which was considered relevant to discuss the involvement and acceptance of amateur audiovisual contents that are published on this site. Finally, the conclusions are presented concerning the role played by the participation of the users of this site in the public debate. In this regard, it is important to mention that this study is carried out by the Academic Team "Communication for social development" of the Autonomous University of Coahuila, Mexico,

which is funded by the “Programa para el Desarrollo Profesional Docente” [“Program for the Professional Development of Teachers”] of the Public Education Department of Mexico, which intends to examine the ways in which amateur and professional videos are related in the semantic weaveworks of YouTube Mexico, and the ways in which the hegemonic and alternative meanings that emerge from this relationship are re-shaped.

## 2. THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSAL: SEMANTIC WEAWEWORKS

In other studies (Muñoz, 2016; 2014; Muñoz & Vélez, 2016; Muñoz & Corona, 2014), the concept of ‘semantic weaveworks’ has been used to explain the way in which professional and amateur productions come together in a single stream of YouTube videos. In theory, this concept is based, on the one hand, on the nature of culture as a process of absorption, adaptation and innovation of meanings that reflects the multidirectional influences among different social groups (Morris, 2002; García Canclini, 1997). On the other hand, it is inspired by the proposal from the field of cultural studies to observe the way in which hegemonic and alternative discourses become entwined in the act of watching television. John Fiske (1992) explains the conflicts and struggles involved in this act as a semantic *maelstrom* in which the different meanings produced by the audience come together as if they were little streams of water converging into the same vortex. The interpretation made by the audience about any media product is affected by the preconceived ideas of each recipient so that the main course of meaning of an audiovisual text is altered by diverging tides or crosscurrents that emerge at the moment of reception. In this sense, YouTube is a combat arena in which there is a fight for meaning, and in which groups of media producers and consumers participate and influence each other through the different characteristics of the interface.

However, and contrary to the disorganized environment suggested by the term *maelstrom*, in YouTube we can observe an underlying structure, and in this sense, the concept of ‘semantic weaveworks’ acts also as a methodological proposal. If we consider that professionally-produced videos form a main trend of signification which is infringed upon by the circulation of other videos with an amateur production created by the recipients of those media texts, we can see that in order to study the semantic weaveworks we must analyze the different levels in which these two trends come together: interface and contents. In the first level, studying the interface of the site makes it possible to know what characteristics and functions in the platform ensure a diversity of contents. On the other hand, the analysis of contents gives us the opportunity to further research the process of signification re-shaping which the diversity of contents might be promoting. For these reasons, the semantic weaveworks of YouTube are defined as the structural network of professional and amateur videos which are grouped around a word or a topic and through which the different audiovisual discourses of YouTube users can interact, some with greater strength than others, in the construction of meaning of media texts.

Taking this into account, a method was designed, oriented to the quantitative paradigm and the case study approach. In order to examine the distribution of professional and amateur contents, that is, at an interface level, a program for information and metadata collection was written in Python with the YouTube API. The Application Programming Interface is designed to carry out systematic operations or to respond to information requests through the web. More specifically, the API in YouTube consists of a series of resources that Google, Inc. makes publicly available so that programmers and third parties can design applications to interact with the site (Google Developers, 2016). This program collected statistical data and metadata for the videos that were shown when a search term was entered in the site. Afterwards, this database also received the information from the channels in which the

videos had been uploaded and the lists of related videos for each of the main videos. This resulted in a database with 364 main videos and 3644 videos that were directly associated with them by the search algorithm in YouTube.

In order to study the contents, a quantitative content analysis tool was designed which used the audiovisual clip as a unit and which measured both the formal aspects of the 364 main videos and the assessment of the topics involved in the case study. In order to establish different categories for the trends of meaning that flow through YouTube, an updated version of the classification proposed by Fiske (1999) for television texts was used: primary text, corresponding to the original message; secondary text, which refers to the productions in the media and advertising industry that strengthen the meaning of a primary text; and tertiary text, which is produced based on the interpretation that audiences make of the primary text.

In this classification by Fiske (1999), a fourth type of text was added with the label “Paratext”. This category included all those video clips that accompany and strengthen the meaning of the original text but do not refer directly to this primary text. In the flow of YouTube videos, all four types of text can be identified, although it is also true, as we can see in the case that we analyze, that the primary text is not always professionally produced. In the next section we will discuss the criteria applied to select the study case.

Once that the database had been created, the metadata from each clip were also used to determine the degree of acceptance of each video and the level of involvement they foster. Similarly, the information from the channels was used to identify the type of user that uploaded each video. In order to establish the different types of users, the criteria identified by Lange (2007) were used:

«*Former participants* no longer post videos but may maintain an account, watch videos on the site, and post an occasional comment. *Casual users*, who typically do not have an account, tend to view videos when they wish to search for something specific, when they surf the site, or when someone prompts them with a link to a particular video. *Active participants* have an account and usually upload videos or at least participate by leaving comments on other people’s video or channel pages. (...) *YouTubers* or “Tubers” are people who have a more intense engagement with YouTube in terms of the amount and type of their participation. (...) The final group, YouTube *celebrities*, share qualities similar to those of YouTubers. However, they are also quite well known both within and often outside of the site.» (Lange, 2007, p. 5, emphasis added).

In this classification of users, the category “Professional media” was added. They are characterized by an intense audiovisual production and high popularity. The data were processed with the statistical analysis software IBM-SPSS and the results that are relevant in the study about involvement and reconfiguration and shown and discussed below.

### 3. CHOICE OF CASE STUDY

As we mentioned above, the hypothesis we present is that inside the clusters of YouTube videos it is possible to identify a structure that organizes the different clips, presumably according to a hierarchy of users. If that is the case, this would mean that the infrastructure of the site has an influence on the way in which the diverse contents are presented, that is, the way in which the hegemonic contents are linked to alternative contents, which promotes a negotiation of signification about the different

topics that are discussed in the public cultural sphere of the website. For this reason, it was essential to select a search term with which we could explain how the videos produced by the different types of users are related to each other. In order to choose a search term, an exploration was carried out in YouTube Mexico that involved the identification of the most popular topics among users in Mexico, those with the highest number of subscribers and views.

In the first stage, a list with the 25 most popular users was created according to the criteria presented above in order to obtain a sample of videos whose contents were analyzed. This first approach allowed us to observe that the topics most commonly discussed by Mexican *youtubers* are related to the areas of health, gender and sexuality (Muñoz, Maldonado & Vélez, 2016). For this reason, different search terms were used to identify a topic that was relevant at that moment for the community of YouTube Mexico. One of these terms was #lady100pesos, which was ultimately chosen because it became the target of an abundant national production over a span of a few months, and because it also included the participation of professional media in the cluster.

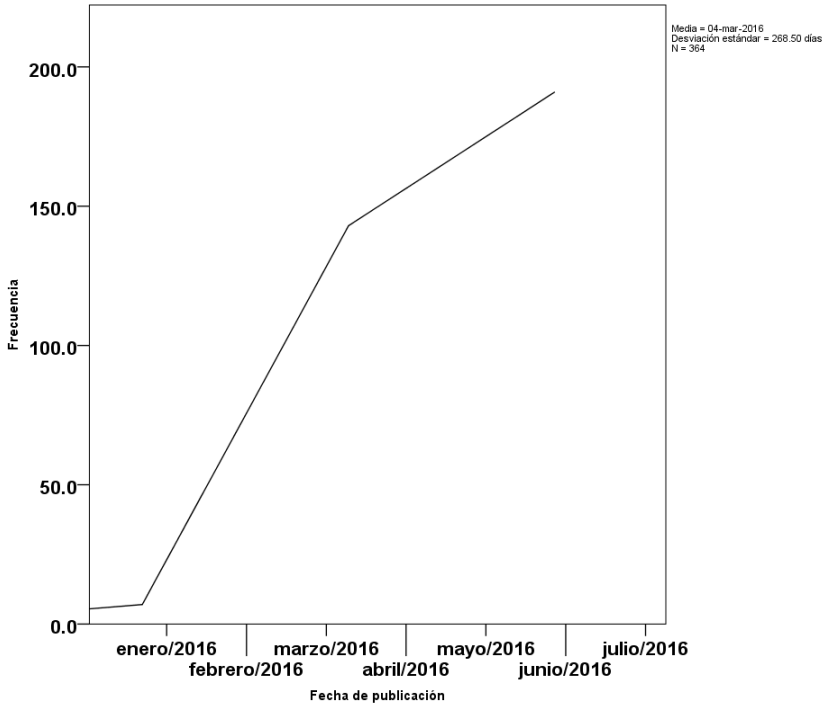
#lady100pesos is the pseudonym used to identify an 18-year-old woman who was involved in a car accident in the city of Guanajuato, Mexico, in 2016. After the accident, a witness recorded a video of the interaction between the young woman and some state police officers who arrested her for driving under the influence and disorderly conduct. The pseudonym refers to the fact that the young woman tried to bribe the officers with a 100-peso note (Informador, 22 January 2016). The original video was posted on the wall of a private Facebook user, and it was afterwards broadcast by local media in different cities in Mexico. However, only months later different types of videos started to be uploaded to YouTube, and both the video clip and the young woman reached a high degree of popularity in different social networks in which the details of her interaction were discussed with regard to her physical attributes, her behavior and the way in which she represented the upper class in Mexico. In addition, this case is representative of a phenomenon that is increasingly common in the Mexican digital public sphere, in which the users of emerging media create different types of contents to ridicule the behavior of upper class women in Mexico (Reina, 29 April 2016).

On the other hand, a previous study (Muñoz & Corona, 2014) which implemented the theoretical-methodological strategy presented here found that in the case of a primary text professionally produced by a traditional medium like cinema, professional videos have greater mobility in the interface of the site. Consequently, the choice of a search term whose primary text is associated with amateur content could help to verify the presence or the absence of this characteristic in the YouTube interface.

#### 4. RESULTS

The first element that is analyzed to discuss the involvement and acceptance of the videos in our study is the scope of influence of #lady100pesos on YouTube. Although the original video, called “Lady 100 pesos o Lady Tepetapa” [“Lady 100 pesos or Lady Tepetapa”] was published in January 2016 through Facebook, we can see in Figure 1 that its scope of influence on YouTube grew over at least six months, and in this period, the 364 main videos associated to the search term were uploaded. This might suggest that the degree of involvement with amateur content tends to increase as the topic is discussed in different media platforms, with the potential implications that public cultural spheres often converge in websites.

Figure 1. Publication scope for the term #lady100pesos.



Source: Compiled by author.

The main videos recovered had an average length of 452.60 seconds, and they had an average of 385.972 views and 332 comments. With these data, we can observe a divergence among the different ways in which audiences get involved with audiovisual contents. For this reason, the following characteristics were considered to measure the level of involvement brought about by the contents: in order to measure this parameter we compared the total amount of comments for each video, their upvotes (Likes) and downvotes (Dislikes) with the total number of views. Similarly, in order to measure the degree of acceptance of the clips, the number of upvotes (Likes) was compared with the total number of votes for each video. In general terms, the sample of videos in our analysis revealed a degree of involvement of 1.99% and a degree of acceptance of 69.17%. These results seem to indicate that there is a low use of the characteristics in the platform that give users new ways to participate in the consumption of audiovisual products, particularly concerning those that require an active participation of audiences, as in the case of the comments section.

Since the purpose of the study is to understand the differentiated acceptance and involvement, these two variables were compared with the different types of YouTube users in order to find out whether some of those groups show a stronger association. It is important to highlight that we did not observe the presence of former participants and that, as we might have expected, most of the contents in our analysis had been uploaded to the website by active users (33.4%) and *youtubers* (31%). However, when comparing the degree of acceptance and involvement generated by the videos uploaded by the different types of users, we can observe a positive increasing association between the degree of professionalization of the user and the percentage of acceptance and involvement of audiences:

YouTube celebrities have a higher degree of acceptance (84.43%) than the rest of users. On the other hand, the contents that generate the greatest involvement are those produced by professional media (4.79%) (Table 1). This might suggest that the audiences of the main videos tend to have a more critical approach to professionally produced videos because they comment on those contents.

Table 1. Involvement and acceptance distributed by user type.

Type of user		Percentage of involvement in main video	Percentage of acceptance of main video
Casual user	Average	.9777	54.1145
	N	38	38
	SD	2.41325	41.19114
Active participant	Average	2.9260	65.0378
	N	122	122
	SD	5.44991	35.38391
YouTuber	Average	1.1323	68.6177
	N	113	113
	SD	1.91825	33.73686
YouTube celebrity	Average	1.6578	<b>84.4261</b>
	N	74	74
	SD	2.10470	17.63415
Professional media	Average	<b>4.7853</b>	69.8002
	N	17	17
	SD	13.39501	35.99476
Total	Average	1.9948	69.1728
	N	364	364
	SD	4.63120	33.73613

Source: Compiled by author.

Other aspects that were measured and that might be related to a higher degree of acceptance and involvement were the type of text, the type of production and the format of the clip. Table 2 shows that secondary texts are associated with a higher percentage of acceptance (78.88%), and the paratext is associated with a higher percentage of involvement (3.46%). Similarly, Table 3 reveals that a *live action* production is associated with a higher percentage of involvement (4.96%) and acceptance (76.08%). Finally, with regard to the format of the clip (Table 4), *playthrough* videos in which the producer records their game experience live show a significantly higher percentage of involvement (12.244%) and acceptance (85.93%).

Table 2. Involvement and acceptance distributed by text type

Text type		Percentage of in-	Percentage of acceptance
		volvement in main video	of main video
Primary text	Average	.6274	66.5984
	N	33	33
	SD	1.17534	38.08931
Secondary text	Average	.9649	<b>78.8849</b>
	N	55	55
	SD	1.22798	22.75513
Tertiary text	Average	2.4977	67.2496
	N	182	182
	SD	4.72470	33.03427
Paratext	Average	<b>3.4602</b>	69.8596
	N	39	39
	SD	9.10515	33.93003
Total	Average	2.1466	69.5805
	N	309	309
	SD	4.95404	32.31838
	Lost data	55	55

Source: Compiled by author.

Table 3. Involvement and acceptance distributed by type of production

Type of production		Percentage of involve-	Percentage of ac-
		ment in main video	ceptance of main video
Recut	Average	.9045	75.1359
	N	58	58
	SD	1.70315	31.02397
Mashup	Average	.8861	64.2989
	N	98	98
	SD	1.22563	34.89605
Animation	Average	2.9504	68.5262
	N	7	7
	SD	4.21633	36.29929
Live action	Average	<b>4.9627</b>	<b>76.0886</b>
	N	96	96
	SD	7.69114	25.54864
Casual recording	Average	1.2204	66.9634
	N	55	55
	SD	3.12581	39.59383
Total	Average	2.2404	70.4661
	N	314	314
	SD	4.93420	32.77768
	Lost data	50	50



Source: Compiled by author.

With regard to these results, it is important to take into account that *playthroughs* and *vlogs* (6.25% of involvement and 77.65% of acceptance), together with *sketches* (2.58% of involvement and 79.56% of acceptance) are formats that typically require a live recording. We could consequently posit that the type of production has a greater incidence in involvement and acceptance among audiences. *Vlogs* are the flagship format in YouTube, and it refers to video clips with a chronological order which are formally characterized by showing the video producer on screen as a figure who speaks through a webcam. *Sketches*, on the other hand, are short comical scenes performed by actors or comedians.

Table 4. Involvement and acceptance distributed by video format

Video format		Percentage of involvement in main video	Percentage of acceptance of main video
Vlog	Average	<b>6.2670</b>	<b>77.6537</b>
	N	64	64
	SD	7.90220	22.75504
Sketch	Average	<b>2.5830</b>	<b>79.5698</b>
	N	8	8
	SD	1.52575	17.46883
Fanvid or AMV	Average	1.1177	60.2543
	N	15	15
	SD	1.71976	38.78323
Compilation	Average	.7514	60.1056
	N	50	50
	SD	1.05341	37.46025
Newscast	Average	.7682	71.8775
	N	78	78
	SD	.78417	29.98054
Document	Average	1.0509	66.7936
	N	64	64
	SD	1.66584	39.32493
Filk	Average	1.3215	72.6204
	N	24	24
	SD	2.80730	35.79251
Playthrough	Average	<b>12.2467</b>	<b>85.9366</b>
	N	5	5
	SD	17.35858	18.37903
Total	Average	2.2604	70.0302
	N	308	308
	SD	4.97668	33.04310
	Lost data	56	56

Source: Compiled by author.

On the other hand, and in order to analyze in greater depth the critical appreciation carried out by audiences and to research the mechanisms of reconfiguration, we examined the comments section. The YouTube interface allows its users to interact with each other through comments, and in this regard, it is remarkable that only 1.6% of the users who uploaded the main videos contained in our sample also participated in the comments section of their own videos. This finding is outstanding because it suggests that the comments section is a space for audiences to interact with each other, rather than with the content producers.

Table 5. Contents of the comments section distributed by user type

Type of user	Contents of the main comment		Total
	<i>Approval</i>	<i>Suggestion or criticism</i>	
Casual user	2 20.0%	8 80.0%	10 100.0%
Active participant	18 36.0%	32 64.0%	50 100.0%
Youtuber	15 29.4%	36 70.6%	51 100.0%
YouTube celebrity	14 31.8%	30 68.2%	44 100.0%
Professional media	3 50.0%	3 50.0%	6 100.0%
Total	52 32.3%	109 67.7%	161 100.0%

Source: Compiled by author.

In this section, most of the comments were statements with a neutral tone and contents that provided suggestions or criticism on topics related to the main video. Moreover, we found out that the comments oriented towards the suggestion or criticisms of contents were more common in videos uploaded by active users, *youtubers* and celebrities (Table 5). This finding qualifies the quality of the involvement induced by professionally produced videos, because they show a low amount of comments in this category.

With regard to the section of related videos or the list of suggestions, we present here a route diagram (Figure 2) which acts a graphic explanation of how professional and amateur contents about #lady100 pesos are connected in YouTube Mexico. In order to create it, the relationship between the

user types in the main videos and the user types in the videos featured in the list of suggestions was analyzed. We can see how the different types of users are related to each other, with the exception of casual users and professional media, which tend to interact mainly with contents produced by celebrities (Table 6). However, we can observe an incipient trend in which all the trends and routes that discuss the topic #lady100 pesos gather in the center of the diagram, which is typically represented by *youtubers* and celebrities.

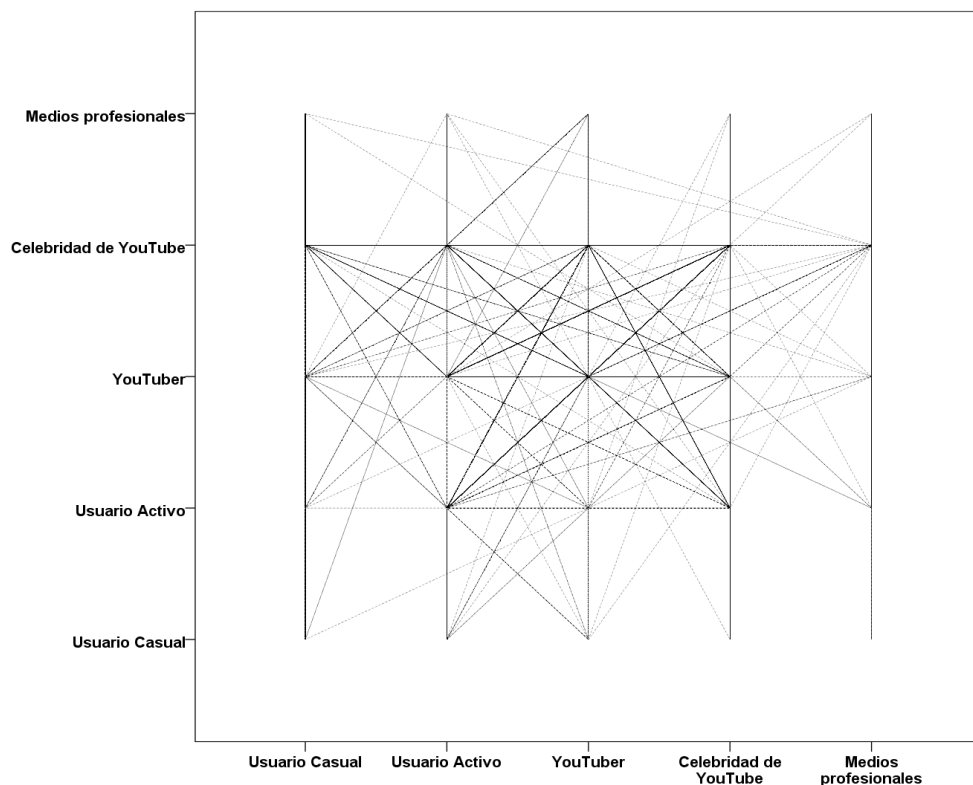
Table 6. Mobility and visibility of contents in related videos

Type of user in main video	Type of user in related videos					Total
	Casual user	Active participant	YouTuber	YouTube celebrity	Professional media	
Casual user	20 5.2%	82 21.6%	117 30.8%	<b>142</b> 37.4%	19 5.0%	380 100%
Active participant	50 4.1%	<b>440</b> 36.1%	331 27.2%	341 28.0%	56 4.6%	1218 100%
YouTuber	38 3.4%	189 16.6%	<b>456</b> 40.1%	388 34.1%	66 5.8%	1137 100%
YouTube celebrity	18 2.5%	105 14.2%	182 24.6%	<b>392</b> 53.0%	42 5.7%	739 100%
Professional media	2 1.1%	26 15.3%	52 30.6%	<b>62</b> 36.5%	28 16.5%	170 100%
Total	128 3.5%	842 23.1%	1138 31.2%	1325 36.4%	211 5.8%	3644 100%

$X^2=313.960$ ;  $p=.000$ . Source: Compiled by author.

With regard to the analysis of the contents of the clips, we have already mentioned that acceptance and involvement might be related to formal aspects such as the type of production and the format. However, we also observed how those categories are related to contents that update and re-configure the meanings associated to the study case. First of all, we may point out that with regard to the way in which the clips analyzed refer to the original event, the recording of live action —a type of production with higher levels of involvement— mainly showed references as a collage (31.2%). This reference was classified as a category with the purpose of “criticizing, challenging and potentially rebelling against the power of the images produced and distributed by media corporations” (Wees, 1993, p. 33).

Figure 2. Relations between different user types.



Source: Compiled by author.

Table 7. References distributed by video format.

Video format	Reference		Total
	<i>allusion</i>	<i>appropriation</i>	
Vlog	23 42.6%	31 <b>57.4%</b>	54 100.0%
Sketch	3 42.9%	4 57.1%	7 100.0%
Fanvid or AMV	10 66.7%	5 33.3%	15 100.0%
Compilation	33 <b>76.7%</b>	10 23.3%	43 100.0%
Newscast	37 53.6%	32 46.4%	69 100.0%
Document	10 41.7%	14 58.3%	24 100.0%
Filk	17 <b>70.8%</b>	7 29.2%	24 100.0%

Playthrough	3 60.0%	2 40.0%	5 100.0%
Total	136 56.4%	105 43.6%	241 100.0%
Lost data			123

$X^2=16.986$ ;  $p=0.17$ . Source: Compiled by author.

With regard to the type of reference in relation with the format, Table 7 shows that *vlogs* were mainly related to references based on collage, parody and appropriation (57.4%), which are characterized by suggesting a new interpretation of the original text. On the other hand, formats like compilations and *filk* were more commonly associated with references like tribute, pastiche and allusion, which are defined by their celebration of the original text. Similarly, we may mention here the case of newscasts, short recordings created by amateur users which mimic the style and format of traditional news programs. Although these clips did not show a remarkable level of involvement, we can observe that their presence was relevant in the sample and that they were mainly related to tribute, pastiche and allusion.

It is worth mentioning that from the moment that the case of study was selected, the topics that could be involved in the #lady100pesos event and which are constantly debated in the public cultural sphere of YouTube were established: gender, sexuality, and the characteristics of the upper class in Mexico. It is relevant here to note that only 42.5% of the video clips included direct comments by an anchor about the case in our analysis. In this regard, the incidence of an assessment of the different topics mentioned above was low.

When giving their opinion about the physical beauty and the clothes of the girl starring in the #lady100pesos video, there is a remarkable trend among male commenters to assess the physical appearance of the young woman and to describe it as desirable, with special emphasis on her figure (69.6%). Similarly, men tend to praise her clothes and to emphasize the shortness of her skirt (80%). Something similar happens regarding the assessment of the verbal utterances of the young woman: 34.2% of all male commenters praise her words (Table 8), while 42.7% disapprove of her behavior when assessing it based on the morality of her actions (Table 9).

Table 10. Disapproval of different characteristics of the upper class.

Connection	Frequency	Percentage from all the clips in the analysis
<i>Social class and beauty</i>	14	3.8
<i>Social class and power</i>	43	<b>11.8</b>
<i>Social class and leadership</i>	21	5.8
<i>Social class and high culture</i>	14	3.8
<i>Social class and intelligence</i>	25	6.9
Total no. of clips in the analysis	364	100

Source: Compiled by author.

However, in order to study the representations of the upper class in Mexico which were updated in the semantic weaveworks, we analyzed the video clips in order to find assessments about the link between social class and different factors such as beauty, power, leadership, high culture and intelligence. The analysis considered that the audiovisual contents that included an assessment which was

either positive or in line with what was expected about these associations did not offer an alternative proposal regarding the reconfiguration of the signification of the social class. Conversely, the video clips with a negative assessment of these associations contribute to updating the meaning of the concept of upper class in Mexico. With regard to these associations, it is necessary to point out that the percentage of disapproval was very low, and the association between social class and power was the only one that showed a relevant percentage of disapproval (Table 10).

## 5. DISCUSSION

As was commented in the previous section, there are different aspects that play a role in the active involvement of audiences in YouTube. The analysis of the interface of this site revealed that the platform provides a structure which apparently ensures both the diversity of contents and the participation of audiences in the construction of meaning in a text, in line with what was pointed out by Burgess and Green (2008). However, the functions of the platform do not necessarily manage to involve audiences in the audiovisual contents in new ways. In the case presented in our analysis we could see this, for example, in the comments section, in which only a minimal percentage of producers participate and respond to the suggestions of other YouTube users. This does not seem to be a different way of interacting with audiovisual contents, but a form of mediation in the interpretation of texts among audiences all around the globe. YouTube provides the space for direct communication between users and media producers, but this does not mean that the social uses and practices have actually removed the barriers between the cultural practices that divide them. The truth is that the presence of criticism or suggestions in the comments of the video clips uploaded by active users, *youtubers* and celebrities seems to indicate the existence of an active community of users that promotes public involvement through the contents they produce.

On the other hand, in the analysis of the list of suggested videos in the #lady100pesos study, we saw how the contents created by YouTube celebrities travel around the entire network of the site and occupy a large space, which implies high visibility and mobility for those contents. However, in the route diagram we can see how the search algorithm of the site seems to focus the flow of the signification trends towards the center, where *youtubers* and celebrities of the site are located. This finding is significant because the list of suggestions should ensure the diversity of perspectives and actors when approaching a topic and this is not the case if the main actors are always the same semi-professional content producers. Emphasis is placed here on the adjective 'semi-professional' because based on those data we could assume that amateur contents have a wide mobility spectrum, when it actually refers to the group of users who participate in the YouTube Partner Program, that is, users who indirectly receive an income based on their audiovisual productions, and who are generally in the first positions of popularity, which pushes other users to look for alternatives to attract audiences to their contents.

With regard to the analysis provided about the actual content of the clips, results seem to show that the type of production is more relevant than the format of the video as regards its potential to involve audiences. Like we observed, the type of production with planned live action was commonly associated to high levels of involvement, and this could be due to the fact that planned live action requires a level of professionalization by the producer which is not necessary in other types of productions like recuts or mashups. We can take into account that in these contents, there were common references based on collage, parody and appropriation, and consequently, the results might suggest that the degree of professionalization of amateur producers also leads to the active involvement of those producers in the criticism against the behavior of #lady100pesos. The truth is that, at least in

the study case presented here, YouTube consumers are conclusive when selecting contents and are actively involved with formats which are different from what traditional media provide. This was the case of newscasts, which despite representing a significant proportion of videos, did not show a high level of involvement; while vlogs and playthrough videos, which are emblematic formats in YouTube, did stand out.

Although participation in YouTube is limited, the satirical content of the videos and comments betrays the latent need to express social discontent. In this regard, when the reconfiguration processes of the #lady100pesos case are analyzed, we can highlight the trend among Mexican *youtubers* to maintain a normative moral standard that could be translated into a negative aspect if we observe that in the comments by male users there is a double standard when referring to a woman's body with a sexualized approach but at the same time censoring her behavior by stating that women should maintain their modesty.

However, the normative moral sense can also be interpreted in positive terms if we consider the way in which the corruption in which #lady100pesos tried to engage was censored: in the sample of our analysis, we observed a tendency to disapprove of her behavior and, tangentially, to discredit the power held by the upper class in Mexico. This case of study was particularly relevant because, as we mentioned before, it is a representative case; in the months that followed, multiple videos portraying cases of corruption similar to the one started by #lady100pesos were broadcast, some of which were included in the sample and classified as paratexts. In the subsequent popularity of videos about "ladies" or "lords", we can see a satirical criticism of the class struggle in Mexico: the main characters in those videos end up becoming the target of social mockery due to their attempts to take advantage of others through bribery or the degradation of other characters shown in the videos.

As a methodological strategy, semantic weaveworks have been useful to delve into the video clusters that are grouped around different topics in order to study them. In YouTube, the discourses of the audience who receive a message become multiplied and stronger because they share the same space in the media platform, but particularly because YouTube users have the opportunity to voice their opinions and their comments with the same audiovisual code used by professional media producers. A qualitative approach to the content of those videos is also part of the project that was the basis for this article, and its results will be shown in future publications. Finally, the proposal to interpret the television text as an open and unfinished work which is constantly being recreated (Fiske, 1991) can also be applied to YouTube, since the site itself admits all the similarities it maintains with television with regard to cultural practices and the way it attracts its audiences (YouTube, 2016).

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